

Ministerial Stipends in the Free Church of Scotland: Edinburgh 1843–1900¹

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Abstract

This paper examines changes in the economic position of ministers of the Free Church of Scotland working in the Presbytery of Edinburgh, from the 1843 Disruption to the Church's 1900 union with the United Presbyterian Church. Using ministerial stipend data, published annually by the Free Church of Scotland, comparative analysis with other clerical, legal and military salaries during the same period permit a preliminary calibration of changes in the economic status of Free Church ministers working in Edinburgh during the second half of the nineteenth century.

The results suggest that over this period Free Church ministerial salaries rose from very modest beginnings to lie somewhere between that of the burgh and non-burgh ministers of the established church, on a par with middle ranking legal clerks working in the country's highest courts of law, and just below that of a senior officer in Scotland's senior cavalry regiment.

1. Introduction

For much of the nineteenth century the issue of ministerial pay troubled the leaders of the Free Church of Scotland. Concerned that stipend levels fell far short of salary levels in comparable professions, members of the General Assembly regularly debated both the level of funding available and the means by which this would be distributed to the ministerial

¹ I acknowledge and thank my colleague, Dr Robbie Mochrie, for his invaluable comments on earlier drafts of this paper

workforce.² An anonymous “cri de coeur” published in the Church’s widely circulated *Home and Foreign Record* in May 1854 illustrates the depth of concern which found expression in the annual, occasionally rancorous, General Assembly debates of the 1850s:

Everywhere the minister of the gospel is vastly underpaid. We ask not that the sacred desk should ever open the way to wealth and ease, but surely it ought to place its occupant above want and distressing carefulness. We see no reason why the ministry should not have attached to it the average remuneration which the same amount of talent and diligence employed in other professions will bring....There are few other departments in which the same amount of talent and labour will not secure fourfold the remuneration...We trust to live to see the day when the Church shall become sensible of her error, and put this matter upon its right footing.³

To date, the quantitative literature analyzing ministerial stipends at an institutional (i.e. church) level is limited. Many general histories and biographies of church leaders make only passing reference to the topic.⁴ Specialist guides such as Gibson (1961)⁵ contain detailed descriptions of the development and operation of stipend schemes. However these offer little by way of quantitative or statistical analysis, a lacuna all the more remarkable given the richness and accessibility of historical data.

² Typical of material published for debate is *Free Church of Scotland, Report of Special Committee Appointed by Assembly 1858 to take into consideration overtures relative to claims of ante-disruption ministers &c.* (Edinburgh, 1859).

³ Anon., “The pulpit worth more than it costs”, *The Home and Foreign Record of the Free Church of Scotland*, May 1854, 255.

⁴ Drummond & Bulloch’s tour d’horizon (*The Church in Victorian Scotland 1843–1874* (Edinburgh, 1975), 122–3) offers some isolated statistical data. Biographies such as G.F. Barbour’s *The Life of Alexander Whyte* (London, 1923), for example make little of the issue, preferring to focus attention elsewhere.

⁵ A.J.H. Gibson, *Stipend in the Church of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1961).

and the importance of the work of church ministers in nineteenth-century civic society in Scotland.

This deficiency is not unique to the study of Scottish church history. The general economic history literature relating to the British labour market in the nineteenth century contains rather few quantitative studies relating to the professions. Reasons offered for this include the difficulty of securing consistent wage series and the problem of defining occupations precisely enough to be useful for analytical purposes.⁶ Notable exceptions to this are recent studies which have exploited rich datasets relating to banking, insurance, finance and local government.⁷ Nevertheless the deficiency remains. In consequence the picture of British wage movements and relativities in the nineteenth century remains incomplete.

This paper contributes to the existing literature by drawing on detailed and comprehensive published financial data for the Free Church of Scotland to examine changes in the stipends of its ministers working in the Presbytery of Edinburgh between 1843 and 1900: from the Disruption to union with the United Presbyterian Church. The quantitative analysis is conducted at Presbytery level, better to reveal patterns and trends over time, whilst a limited comparative analysis with other clerical, legal and military salaries over this period permits a preliminary calibration of changes in the economic status of Free

⁶ H.M. Boot, "Salaries and career earnings in the Bank of Scotland, 1730–1880", *Economic History Review*, xlv, 4 (1991), 629–53, at p. 629, notes that the term 'clerk', "encompasses such a wide range of occupations and levels of skill and responsibility that it is almost valueless for analytical purposes".

⁷ For example, R.V. Jackson, "The structure of pay in nineteenth-century Britain", *Economic History Review*, 2nd series, xl, 4 (1987), 561–70; Boot 1991; A.J. Seltzer & J. Frank, "Promotion tournaments and white collar careers: evidence from Williams Deacon's Bank, 1890–1941", *Oxford Economic Papers*, 59 (2007), 49–72; M. Heller, "Work, income and stability: The late Victorian and Edwardian London male clerk revisited", *Business History*, vol. 50, no. 3 (2008), 253–71; and A.J. Seltzer, "Salaries and promotion opportunities in the English banking industry 1890–1936", *Business History*, vol. 52, no. 5 (2010), 737–59.

Church ministers working in Edinburgh during the second half of the nineteenth century.

2. Institutional Background: Funding of Stipends

Before the Disruption the established Church of Scotland relied primarily on a complex system of ancient rights and dues, generally existing as burdens on landowners, for the payment of its ministers and the maintenance of its buildings. The vast majority of ministerial stipends were funded from the produce of “teinds”, heritable rights to set quantities of agricultural produce, which varied in monetary value from year to year. In Edinburgh the situation was complicated by the existence of a number of “burgh” churches whose ministers were paid by the municipality out of the proceeds of the local Annuity Tax. By the late 1830s a number of new parishes *quoad sacra* had been created with stipend arrangements for their ministers modelled along *quoad omnia* parish lines. A detailed and fascinating description of stipend funding arrangements in 1830s Edinburgh was published in the *First Report of the Commissioners of Religious Instruction, Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1837). For the purposes of this study most notable is the observation that within the established Church there was no tradition of congregational giving being the primary means by which ministerial stipends were funded. Instead, “Worshippers at a parish church took to for granted that their offerings would be nominal”.⁸

Post Disruption, the Free Church of Scotland, although repudiating the label “voluntary”, was perforce required to rely exclusively on the proceeds of voluntary giving for the funding of stipends. The organisation of a workable scheme to ingather and distribute funds sufficient to create, and then sustainably support, a national network of over 400 ministers, churches and manses in a timescale short enough to satisfy the immediate demands of the people separating from the established church, was without precedent in Scottish ecclesiastical history.

⁸ Drummond & Bulloch, *The Church*, 116.

The essential features of the system finally adopted were set out by Thomas Chalmers as early as 1841 in his, "Scheme for the Economics of a Free Church".⁹ Although still intellectually wedded to the idea and virtues of an established church, Chalmers was clear that any scheme based on voluntary giving would have to address three fundamental economic problems. First, the total yielded by any scheme would have to be sufficient to finance, sustainably, a national organisation with an adequately paid minister, a church and a manse in every parish in Scotland. Second, in order to achieve national coverage for the Church a system of cross subsidies would be required in the short run to channel finance from wealthy to poor areas and to ensure there was stability from one year to the next in terms of basic provision for ministerial stipends. In the medium and long run however, it was the view of Chalmers that the vast majority of individual congregations should aim at becoming self financing, with only a rump, i.e. a small minority, of congregations in sparsely populated and economically poor areas dependent on continued access to cross subsidies. Third, voluntary giving must be incentivised effectively. This in turn rested on an appreciation of the way in which individuals and groups of individuals (congregations) might respond to requests for donations. The key features of the Chalmers' plan were as follows:

Scheme For The Economics Of A Free Church.

1st, That Associations should be formed in all parts of the country

⁹ A scheme, equivalent in essentials to that of Chalmers, was outlined by Dr Candlish at a meeting of Ministers and Elders held in the West Church, Edinburgh in August 1841. W. Hanna, *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Thomas Chalmers DD LLD*, vol. iv (Edinburgh, 1852), 565, notes Chalmers on this point, "At the great public meeting held at St. Cuthbert's Church in August 1841, there was a general exposition given by Dr. Candlish of a scheme bearing a close resemblance in all its essential elements to the one which I have now presented to the reader. Whether it was that he had seen this scheme, and had approved of it, or that it was suggested originally and independently to his own mind, it is most satisfactory to find that it met the support of one whose opinion is so fitted to influence the counsels of the Church."

for receiving both donations and termly payments in support of the Church.

2d, That the produce of these Associations should be remitted to Edinburgh, and there formed into a General Fund, under the management of a Central or Metropolitan Board.

3d, That this Fund should furthermore be upheld by direct offerings, either single or periodical, on the part of those who may not be in the way of remitting their contributions through the medium of a local Association.

4th, That the General Fund shall be separated into two parts—a Building and a Sustentation Fund—the former made up of the donations, and the latter of the termly payments, unless otherwise specified by the contributors, who of course are at perfect liberty to assign either of these objects.

5th, That from the Sustentation Fund a certain equal dividend should be awarded to each minister of the Church, not exceeding the sum of -----yearly.

6th, That whatever surplus remained after the allocation of their yearly dividend to the ministers of the Church, should be devoted to the objects of Church and School Extension.

7th, That it shall be competent for each congregation to increase the allowance received by the ministers from the General Fund, by separate and supplementary efforts of their own.

8th, That the ancient order of Deacons shall be revived in each congregation, whoso special office, as formerly, shall be to take such charge as might be committed to them of those funds which are raised, whether for the relief of the poor or the sustentation of the ministry.¹⁰

The Scheme received a very poor reception at the November 1842 ministerial Convocation in Edinburgh. Chalmers remained convinced of its potential efficacy and of the fact that a comprehensive system of finance, this or some other, would in fact be needed in a matter of

¹⁰ Hanna, *Memoirs*, 564-5.

months. Following the meeting he sought to demonstrate how one part of the Scheme might be put into effect, by organising a local Association in the parish of Morningside. This entailed the subdivision of the parish into geographical districts each with their own collectors who received donations for church building and the support of the ministry. In the case of ministerial support particular emphasis was given to the need to encourage regular, weekly ('termly') giving of small amounts ('subscriptions') by a large number of people.

In February 1843 a national Provisional Committee was established whose work was to make preparation for the, now almost inevitable, split between church and state. Chalmers presided as head of its Financial Section, organising a circular letter inviting subscriptions and donations from all over Scotland. The terms of this initial appeal mirrored almost exactly those of the original Scheme:

...there should be a General Fund, supported by contributions from all parts of the Church, and made available for the benefit of all the adhering congregations, by means of an *equal* dividend towards the support of each Minister.

...room should be left in some way for the supplementary efforts of each Congregation on behalf of their own Minister.

...this equal dividend, being always one and the same to each Minister of the Church, and so increasing with every increase of the General Fund, should not, however, increase to more than a certain point, even though beyond and, it is to be hoped, greatly beyond, this point the Fund itself should continue to increase.¹¹

Significantly, the amounts raised in this way were published,¹² both as a record and as a means of encouraging further giving; indicative of

¹¹ Provisional Committee, *Circular under the Authority of the Financial Committee etc.*, No. 1 (1843), 1, cited in H. Watt, *Thomas Chalmers and the Disruption* (Edinburgh, 1943), 319-20.

¹² Developing a practice initiated during the Established Church's Extension campaign of the 1830s.

Chalmers' understanding of human behaviour and the importance of incentives.

Early Progress

At the Free Church's first post-Disruption General Assembly, in his capacity as Convener of the Financial Section of the Provisional Committee, Chalmers reported on early progress.¹³ As of Monday May 22nd a list of 629 local Associations had been set up. Of these, 286 had subscribed a total of £20,360 to the Central Fund; an average of £71. At this early stage no further decisions were taken as to the detailed means by which distributions would be made. However the General Assembly acted to restore the office of Deacon in the Church, thereby giving it the means to build capacity within the organisation to administer its finances.¹⁴

At the special General Assembly of October 1843 regulations for the administration of what was now generally known as the Sustentation Fund were approved.¹⁵ The key features of these included: first a commitment to the principle of paying an 'equal dividend' to each minister participating in the Fund, second a direction to use ordinary church-door collections locally for the purpose of increasing or supplementing the ministerial stipend, third the giving of a power to the Sustentation Fund Committee to withhold a portion of the dividend, "...in all cases in which it may clearly appear to them that the congregations are improperly diverting their whole means to their own local objects, and wilfully withholding their due contributions from the

¹³ *Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland*, May 1843, 49.

¹⁴ *Acts of the General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland*, May 1843, X Act anent the Administration of the secular affairs of the Church and the appointment of Deacons.

¹⁵ *Acts of the General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland*, October 1843, V Regulations and Resolutions as to the Administration of the Funds for Supplying Ordinances, and as to the appointment of Deacons, etc.

General Fund, of which they share the benefit",¹⁶ and fourth a requirement to record and publish in full for each congregation a list of collections for all purposes. Even at this very early stage therefore, it is clear that a check on financial congregationalism was deemed necessary by Chalmers to avoid undermining progress towards the creation of a national church.

Voluntary contributions to the centrally administered Sustentation Fund arrived more slowly than anticipated as congregations focussed their fundraising efforts on local church building. An interim payment to ministers of only £40 for the half year was recommended, it being pointed out that this fell some way short of half of the targeted figure of £150 for the whole year. At this meeting additional efforts to raise giving were agreed, and were to include monthly meetings for each congregation where, following devotions, information about the state and progress of the Free Church would be presented.

By the time of the May 1844 meeting of the Free Church's General Assembly, exactly a year on from the Disruption, the three main economic problems associated with the operation of a Sustentation Fund, and anticipated by Chalmers, had crystallised. These were yield, cross subsidy and incentives.

In the first full year of its operation the church's local Associations had remitted £68,704 14 8½.¹⁷ At the start of the year the 470 ministers leaving the established church were deemed entitled to a share of the equal dividend. During the year another 113 had been ordained and had come to participate in the Fund on the same terms. Consequently the Assembly was unable to meet its target of an £150 equal dividend and instead declared a payment of only £100 per minister plus a further £5 allowance for the Widow's Fund.

¹⁶ *Acts of the General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland*, October 1843, V Regulations and Resolutions as to the Administration of the Funds for Supplying Ordinances, and as to the appointment of Deacons, etc. Section IV.

¹⁷ *Free Church of Scotland, General Assembly, Report and Speeches on the Sustentation Fund*, Thursday May 23 1848.

As to cross subsidy, giving was analysed by dividing the congregations into those giving more to the Fund than they received (in Equal Dividend) and those receiving more than they gave.¹⁸ In the first year only a quarter of the Church's congregations were net contributors to the Fund. Furthermore of these, 15 congregations accounted for one fifth of the income of the whole Fund. For congregations whose giving was less than the Equal Dividend, more than 150 gave less than £20 to the Fund, and more than 350 congregations less than £50.

As to incentives it was clear that non-financial incentives, such as the frequent exhortations of Church leaders and its ministers, were failing to produce the desired results. Evidence on cross subsidy strongly suggested that the entitlement of ministers to a equal dividend regardless of the level of contribution to the Fund by their congregation encouraged the free riding of aid receiving on aid giving congregations and gave no incentive for either to increase their fundraising efforts. Individual ministers also had no incentive to promote the Sustentation Fund, and every incentive to prosper personally from encouraging contributions to church door collections for the supplementation of their stipend.

This tension between the financing of national and local priorities played out regularly in annual debates of the General Assembly, as changes to the Scheme in order to enhance its effectiveness were debated.¹⁹ Progress towards attaining a £150 equal dividend proved painfully slow and regular attempts to stimulate giving through public exhortation²⁰ had limited effect. For the purposes of this paper it is necessary only to note two significant innovations in the design of the

¹⁸ Hanna, *Memoirs*, 368-9.

¹⁹ The history and progress of the Sustentation Fund is discussed in more detail in J.W. Sawkins & R.I. Mochrie, "Incentivising voluntary giving: the design and operation of the Free Church of Scotland's Sustentation Fund", paper presented at Conference of the Association of the Study of Religion, Economics and Culture (ASREC), Arlington VA, April 2011, available at http://www.thearda.com/asrec/archive/papers/Sawkins_Voluntary_Giving.pdf.

²⁰ For example the '1847 Movement' and the 'One-fourth-more Movement' of 1854.

Fund, which took place between 1843 and 1900, and which materially altered the economic incentive structure within which members and ministers operated. These were the “Half more” scheme of 1844 and the ‘Surplus’ scheme of 1867.

Half more Scheme

By 1844 the shortfall in contributions to the Sustentation Fund had grown so large that the possibility of creating a new national church that could match and overbear the established church was looking more and more remote. Part of the problem lay in ministerial funding and to Chalmers, it was clear that changes to the scheme were required in order to give members and ministers a clear economic incentive to contribute more generously to the Sustentation Fund. In 1844 he proposed to the General Assembly that the equal dividend should be abolished. In its place he argued for a ‘Half more’ scheme in which congregations should receive from the Fund a half more than it contributed to it up to the point at which ministerial income reached £150. A congregation contributing £80 to the Fund, for example, would receive back for its minister £120. No Congregation, he argued, should be put on the Fund until its annual contribution exceeded £50²¹.

The proposal was vigorously opposed in the Assembly where ministers currently on the Fund refused to give up their entitlement to an equal dividend. It was instead agreed that a ‘Half more’ arrangement would be introduced for ministers admitted to new charges only. No lower threshold was set for congregations seeking to be put on this ‘Half more’ scheme.

In 1845 the General Assembly expressed its strong opposition to the innovation and instructed a review of the administration of the Fund. The scheme was finally abandoned in 1848.

Surplus Scheme

By 1867 the Church’s original objective of achieving an equal dividend

²¹ Hanna, *Memoirs*, 371.

of £150 was within sight, but had not been achieved. Furthermore a new target of a £200 minimum stipend for ministers was proposed²². In order to reach this higher amount it was proposed that the surplus of the Sustentation Fund's annual revenue, once the £150 equal dividend had been paid, should be allocated to a Surplus Fund. Distributions from this Fund would be made according to congregational giving per head with thresholds set at 10 shillings (s) and 7 shillings (s) and six pence (d). Each year every congregation giving more than £60 to the Sustentation Fund proper would be entitled to participate in the Surplus Fund. Congregations giving 10s or more per head would receive a distribution from the Surplus Fund and those giving between 7s 6d and 10s would receive an amount half as large as that offered to the 10s or more congregations. It was agreed that no minister would receive more than £50 from the Surplus Fund. Should support for the Surplus Fund be sufficient, in this way the Church would secure stipends of £200 for all its ministers – £150 in equal dividend and an additional £50 from the Surplus Fund.

This Scheme, was reviewed in 1874 and two targets were explicitly adopted by the Church. These were the attainment of a £200 stipend for all ministers, and a minimum contribution rate of ten shillings per member per year. Further amendments occurred in 1877 and 1889. In 1895 a change was made to restrict the distribution of the Surplus Fund to congregations where ministerial income remained at under £200.

Funding of Stipends

In summary, for the period 1843 to 1900, the two main means by which stipend payments were made to ministers of the Free Church of Scotland were from the Sustentation Fund and through local congregational supplements. The relative importance of these as sources of income varied widely both between congregations and across time, a point which will be illustrated later.

²² Prices rose modestly between 1843 and 1867, however the impetus for this appears to have come from general dissatisfaction with stipend levels.

3. Data

The primary data used in this paper come from a number of annual reports published by the Free Church of Scotland. The *Statement showing the ordinary collections and seat-rents, ministers' supplements, etc. of the congregations of the Free Church of Scotland* was published annually from 1845 to 1900.²³ This contains lists of charges arranged by Presbytery, the names of ministers, congregational contributions to the Sustentation Fund and ministerial supplements paid. Changes to the rules by which the Sustentation Fund was distributed were recorded in the annual *Acts of the General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland*, and further commentary using qualitative and quantitative data is available from regular *Reports of the Sustentation Fund*, *Reports of the Surplus Fund* and *Proceedings of the Free Church of Scotland General Assembly*. Data relating to non-ministerial salaries in the Church are contained in the annual *Report of the Public Accounts of the Free Church of Scotland*. Salary data for those in legal and military employment are contained in House of Commons papers; the annual Civil Services and Army Estimates. Full details of these and other supplementary sources accompany the tables and figures below.

The Free Church sources of data are both rich and extensive in terms of information relating to the pay of its labour force, i.e. ministers and other officials. Furthermore all parts of the Church's core operations fell within its formal and highly centralized reporting structures, which were themselves developed at a very early stage after the Disruption. The regular publication of, generally small, numbers of corrections to reported figures and triangulation of these against information contained in various official Government reports, suggest that the quality of data and the consistency of reporting was good,²⁴ particularly when compared with other denominations.

²³ The series has a break between 1857–8 and 1861–2. Records for these years are missing from the New College and Free Church College archives in Edinburgh.

²⁴ i.e. the basis on which data were gathered is generally made clear and does not alter in an ad hoc way.

The task of drawing conclusions based on this longitudinal data is greatly helped by two key aspects of the Church's operations. First, the work undertaken by ministers throughout the period of study, what economists call the "technology of production", retained its key features. The job specification of a minister leaving the Established Church of Scotland at the Disruption with preaching and pastoral work at its heart would have accurately described the work of a minister of the Free Church over half a century later when it joined with the United Presbyterian Church. Second, the labour force itself was broadly homogeneous according to gender, i.e. it was exclusively male, and training, i.e. all ministers were educated to a high level by the standards of the day at university or latterly through one of the church's training colleges.

Two key limitations to the present study should be noted however. First, attention is confined to ministers of the Free Church working in churches within the Presbytery of Edinburgh. Clearly the local ministerial labour market in Edinburgh enjoyed a number of unique features. As the capital city, it was home to many nationally significant administrative, educational, legal, military and political institutions. Although second to Glasgow in size, it supported a large, relatively prosperous and well educated population which included an ambitious and growing professional class. Consequently the degree to which general conclusions applicable to the entire Free Church may be drawn from this geographically circumscribed study is limited.

Second, the study focuses exclusively on recorded stipend payments alone, and therefore excludes other forms of remuneration which ministers of all church denominations during this period generally enjoyed. Most importantly the study does not include the value of a ministerial mansc, which significantly lifted the standard of living for ministers and their families above that which they might otherwise be able to afford if required to rent a property with money from their basic

stipend.²⁵ Whilst other payments in kind²⁶ are also not captured in the published data, it is argued by Drummond & Bulloch that these were a much less important supplement to stipend for Free and Established Church ministers than their United Presbyterian brethren.²⁷ Consequently this study offers an important, but by no means comprehensive view of the economic status of Free Church ministers of the time. The way in which this relates to the wider question of the status of ministers within wider society is beyond the scope of the paper.

4. Value of Stipends

In analyzing the level and movement of ministerial stipends over time we deploy quinquennial data for the purposes of reporting results. Although annual observations are available for most data series, annual variation is limited. Consequently five-yearly observations are sufficient for the purpose of commenting on patterns and trends over the period of study. The one exception to this rule is that the year immediately prior to union (1899/1900) is included in order to highlight the position of the Church in its final full year of operation. Unless otherwise stated, monetary amounts are recorded in nominal (money of the day) terms, and rounded to the nearest pound (£).

An important initial calibration exercise is to consider the stipend levels of ministers who quit the established church at the Disruption. For this purpose the best available summary data are contained in the *Ninth Report of the Royal Commissioners* (1838), whose work for Edinburgh related to 1835. These data were later used by the Free

²⁵ The near-universal provision of manses for Free Church ministers was only achieved by the end of the nineteenth century. Drummond & Bulloch note (*The Church*, 123) in connection with the Established Church of Scotland that "...ministers' standards of housing, usually dating from before 1846, equalled that of all but the wealthiest farmers and were excelled only by the landed gentry, the great lawyers, and the industrialists"

²⁶ Such as agricultural produce, books, clothes and ad hoc tokens of appreciation by way of anniversary or retirement gifts.

²⁷ Drummond & Bulloch, *The Church*, 50.

Church in its own investigation into the claims of ante-Disruption ministers in relation to their levels of stipend²⁸ on the basis that stipend and price levels in general had changed very little in the ensuing eight year period. Of the 55 ministers in the Presbytery of Edinburgh in 1843, 34 'went out' and 21 continued to adhere to the established Church of Scotland.²⁹ The highest paid of those quitting the establishment were the ministers of burgh churches, ten in total, with stipends of £548 4 6 each. Stipend levels for other parishes and *quoad sacra* charges were generally over £100 lower, however the provision of a manse, even for burgh ministers, was not universal. A more detailed analysis of the position of these ministers is provided below.

An initial target 'equal dividend' for ministers quitting the established church was just £150.³⁰ Teinds Acts of 1810 and 1824 had fixed minimum stipend levels for established church ministers of £150 p.a. for those with manse and glebe, £180 p.a. for those with manse or glebe, and £200 p.a. for charges with neither manse nor glebe.³¹ The initial Free Church target was therefore at the lower end of this range, being raised to £200 as late as 1867.

There were, from the beginning, two main channels through which the voluntary donations of church supporters flowed into ministerial stipends. First amounts raised locally and remitted centrally in support of the national Sustentation Fund, which were distributed as equal dividends, and for a period, also as surplus payments from the Surplus Fund. Table 1 summarises the growth in the number of charges

²⁸ Free Church of Scotland (1859).

²⁹ There was one vacant charge at the time; see R. Logan, *The United Free Church: An Historical Review of Two Hundred and Twenty-Five Years 1681-1906* (Edinburgh, 1906), Appendix II.

³⁰ See T. Chalmers, *An Earnest Appeal to the Free Church of Scotland, on the Subjects of its Economics* (Edinburgh, 1847) and the various *Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland*.

³¹ Gibson, *Stipend*, 30-31.

(congregations) and the ministerial labour force,³² the total contributions made by congregations in the Presbytery to the Sustentation Fund, the average contribution and the equal dividend agreed by the church for that year. Table 2 records the surpluses paid from the dedicated Surplus Fund together with the number of congregations contributing at the higher and lower rates.

The second channel was donations made locally which went directly to supplement individual ministerial stipends. Table 3 records the total amounts raised in this way, the number of ministers in receipt, the mean amount received and the highest supplements paid to individual ministers.

The aggregate picture portrayed in Tables 1, 2 and 3 conceals the extent to which, throughout this period, a small number of congregations dominated overall giving to the Sustentation Fund, and paid ministerial supplements which were exceptional when compared with others in the Presbytery. For example, in 1848/9 over half of the total amount given to the Sustentation Fund for that year was contributed by just five congregations. By 1898/9, half of the Presbytery's total giving to the Sustentation Fund was accounted for by just seven of the Presbytery's 55 congregations. In terms of ministerial supplements paid, by the 1870s nearly every minister serving a congregation in the Presbytery received a stipend supplement. The highest of these, and the average, are recorded in Table 5. However it is notable also that throughout the period over a fifth of congregations paying a supplement to their ministers paid less than the minimum stipend towards the Sustentation Fund. Clearly, cross subsidy, was firmly embedded in the workings of Presbytery finance from the Disruption onwards.

The circumstances of one particular congregation, Free St George's, deserve special mention. Throughout the period of study this

³² Note it was proposed that one equal dividend entitlement should attach to each authorized charge, with any additional ministers being funded by the local congregation.

single charge consistently made the largest annual contribution to the Sustentation Fund, which was generally more than double that of its nearest Presbytery rival for the accolade. In 1847/8 its contribution of £2,783 represented 20% of total Presbytery contributions. By 1878/9 this had risen to £5,029, or 22%, and remained at that level for the rest of the century.³³ The congregation proved equally generous in terms of the supplement it paid to its minister. At the Disruption it secured the services of R. S. Candlish paying £300 in supplement in 1848/9, the third highest in the Presbytery for that year. During the ministry of Alexander Whyte, however, the ministerial supplement grew even further, exceeding £1,000 for the first time in 1878/9 and falling back only slightly on the arrival of an assistant and then successor minister, Hugh Black. No other stipend supplement came near to matching this and the premium paid to Whyte although varying from year to year, was generally several hundred pounds in excess of that enjoyed by the next best paid minister in the Presbytery.

Notwithstanding these observations about Free St George's, and in order to avoid being drawn further into a discussion of circumstances peculiar to individual congregations and their ministers, this paper seeks to develop the comparative analysis by creating data series reflective of the Presbytery as a whole. To this end a stipend series for a "typical" Free Church minister is constructed (Table 4). In the case of ministers serving in the Edinburgh Presbytery during this period the vast majority were on the platform of the full equal dividend, receiving both the higher share of surplus during the years in which this was available and an additional ministerial supplement. For the purposes of this table an average supplement has been calculated excluding observations relating to the stipend paid to Alexander Whyte during his ministry at Free St George's. Statistically, these observations are clear outliers not reflective of the more general position, and which, if included in the

³³ In 1899/1900 the contribution was £4,391 or 22% of that year's total Presbytery contributions.

calculated figure, would pull up the mean, distorting a data series designed to reflect 'typical' ministerial stipend levels.

For the purposes of comparison a second hypothetical time series is constructed which tracks total stipend of the highest paid minister in the Edinburgh Presbytery (Table 5). In this case the supplement used is that recorded as being paid to an individual minister.

For the typical minister in the Presbytery of Edinburgh, income received by way of local supplement exceeded, by a large margin, that from the Sustentation and Surplus Funds. For the highest paid minister the supplement could be as much as six times the value of the equal dividend.

Looking at the evolution of the stipend over time, notable are the quite rapid increases in stipend levels during the 1840s, 1850s and 1860s, driven by increases in ministerial supplements, with a levelling off in the final quarter of the century. This analysis, however, fails to take into account changes to the general price level over the period, for which we require price data in order to derive 'real' values at a particular point in time.

In Table 6 we deploy the Office for National Statistics' (2011) composite price index deriving stipend levels in 2010 purchasing power terms from the nominal measures. Notable is the fact that the overall price level at the start and end of the period of study is very similar with some evidence of a rise in the general price level in 1860s and 1870s followed by a period of deflation. Annual observations suggest that although there was some volatility between years periods of inflation were relatively short lived with gains in prices subsequently reversed through deflation.

The nominal value of the equal dividend eventually reached £150 in 1867/8, then rose to £157 in 1874/5 and £160 in 1878/9. Its real value expressed in terms of 2010 purchasing power mirrored this rise, and benefitted from the fall in the price index in the mid 1880s, settling at just over £16,000 by the time of the Union. The real value of the typical stipend rose at one point to just over £38,000 whilst that for the highest paid minister (Alexander Whyte of Free St George's) exceeded

£100,000, or more than two and a half times the typical stipend, and six times the value of the equal dividend, from the late 1870s onwards³⁴.

Returning to examine in more detail the fortunes of those ministers who had quit the established church at the Disruption, Table 7 records the stipends received by those still working in 1846, 1858 and 1873; three, fifteen and thirty years after the Disruption. With few exceptions, Begg of Newington being the most notable, stipend levels for the Disruption ministers in 1846 remained some way below what they had enjoyed as ministers of the Established Church. Progress in closing the gap had been made by 1858, although by 1873, amongst surviving ante-Disruption ministers none enjoyed a level of stipend to match that of a burgh minister in 1835.

5. Comparative Analysis

During the 1850s, at the height of the debate within the church over the level of stipend and the distribution of the Sustentation Fund, articles in the monthly *Record of the Free Church of Scotland* regularly bemoaned the financial plight of its ministers, comparing their position against those equally educated.

Let my friends but glance at the position of those classes of the community whose education is somewhat on a level with that of the ministry. Our legal and medical practitioners of the highest grade do not, all things considered, incur a heavier expense, or attain superior acquirements in preparing for a profession. But, keeping the bench and our higher official appointments out of view, who, I

³⁴ Ministers of the Church of Scotland in 2010 received stipends on a scale which ran from £23,139 for newly ordained ministers to £30,426 for those with ten or more years experience. In this case a manse and pension provision was part of the total remuneration package (*Church of Scotland Ministries Council, Report to the General Assembly, May 2010*, 3/27). However direct comparison with nineteenth century stipend levels is complicated by the fact that any robust comparisons must account for changes in the general productivity of labour, the technology of production, training etc.

would ask, of our first-class barristers, physicians, or writers to the signet, would not be ready to count the highest city stipend in the Free Church as a paltry remuneration for his services? Or, descend a step, – take our substitute sheriffs and our Crown prosecutors throughout the country, – the latter often retaining their private practice along with their official salaries, – and what a disproportion do you meet with! Nay, reach down to our village lawyers and doctors, and you find the least educated and the least respectable of either profession far exceeding in their remuneration the man who devotes years of study and outlay to a preparation for the higher and holier profession of standing before immortal men as the ambassador of the eternal God, to proclaim his Word and his will to perishing souls.... I would have you visit along with me a much humbler region, and I think that I will be able to prove that the Free Church minister is worse paid than the ordinary labouring classes of the community...³⁵

In the absence of comprehensive time series data relating to the professions in nineteenth century Scotland, this paper presents a more limited set of data for the purpose of offering an initial calibration of ministerial stipend levels. Although preliminary and indicative only, as will become apparent with the discussion of the various caveats associated with each data series, the following results offer a partial but important insight into changes in the economic status of Free Church ministers in nineteenth century Edinburgh.

The three comparator groups selected for this purpose on the basis of data availability include, other Free Church of Scotland employees, ministers serving the Established Church of Scotland, and finally those holding office within the legal and military professions.

³⁵ Anon., "On the Provision for the Ministry", *The Home and Foreign Record of the Free Church of Scotland*, August 1854, 31.

Other Free Church Employees

The annual Public Accounts of the Free Church of Scotland contain salary information on employees holding particular offices within the Church. Table 8 records the salaries of the most senior finance officer within the Church, the General Treasurer, the holders of Professorial appointments at New College, Edinburgh, and the New College Principal.

Most striking from these figures is the extent to which salaries changed very little over the period. Whilst gains were enjoyed by all, these salaries were around twice that of the Free Church minister and something less than half of the salary of the highest paid minister.

Established Church of Scotland

Comparison with ministers of the established Church of Scotland is potentially more hazardous for a number of reasons. First, because the payment of stipends was devolved to individual parishes with no requirement for regular reporting to a central bureaucracy, for the early period one must rely on non-recurrent sources such as Government reports. Second, the existence of burgh and non-burgh charges in Edinburgh effectively embedded a two-tier labour market within the Presbytery. Burgh churches generally offered higher stipends and attracted the most capable or ambitious ministers. Stipends in the ordinary parish churches were generally lower and appointment to one of these was considered less prestigious.

In Table 9 we set the calculated typical and highest paid Free Church ministerial stipend against a typical and highest paid burgh church ministerial stipend and a typical non-burgh parish church stipend.³⁶ The date of data gathering is shown clearly for the Church of Scotland information.

The typical Free Church ministerial stipend remained below that of the typical burgh minister but exceeded that of the typical non-burgh

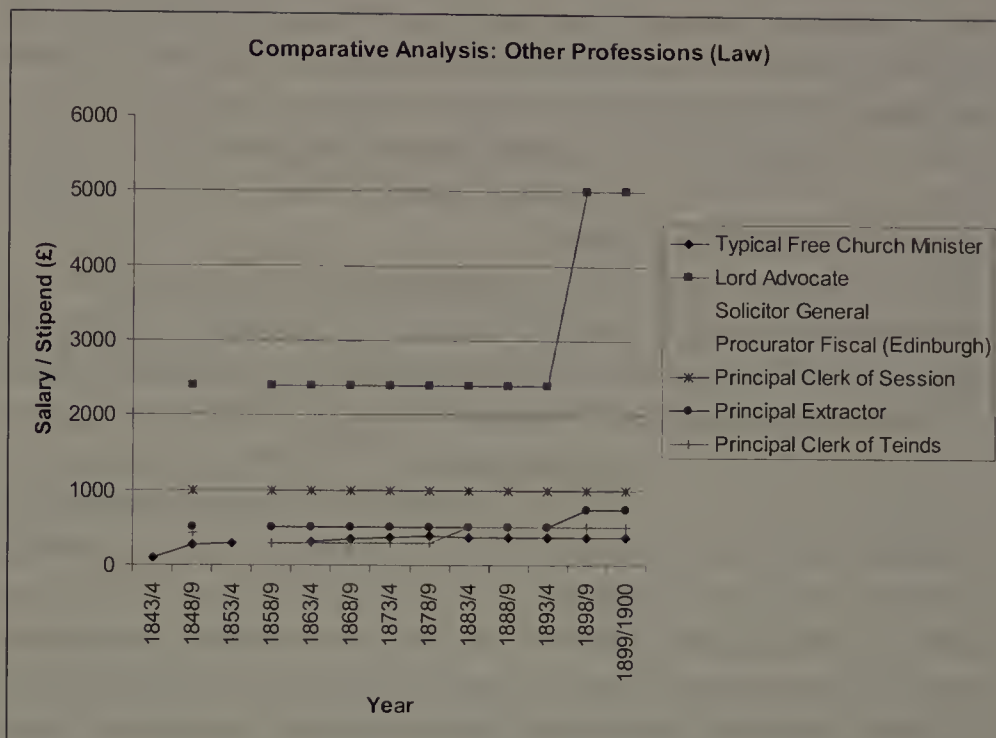
³⁶ Chosen to be that of Corstorphine Parish Church which had neither the highest nor the lowest stipend throughout this period.

minister by a large margin in 1873. The gap between the highest and the typical ministerial stipend was considerably larger in absolute and percentage terms for Free Church ministers when compared with their established church brethren. In no year, however, did the stipend of the typical Free Church minister exceed that of the burgh Minister.

Legal and Military Professions

Identifying appropriate comparator groups beyond the clerical sphere is even more hazardous. In the case of the legal profession a range of public offices which existed at the start and end of the period of study were identified. The holders of these public offices would have operated in or around Edinburgh, and their salaries were published annually in *Civil Service Estimates*. In the case of the military, published salaries in the annual *Army Estimates* for officers and chaplains serving in the senior Scottish cavalry regiment of the line were used. The *Army Estimates* considerably understate the total remuneration enjoyed by serving officers as annual salary payments were routinely supplemented by various operational allowances. Those operating in both the legal and military spheres enjoyed a number of privileges and perquisites not captured by the data. The comparison therefore has the nature of a 'first approximation' in this preliminary comparative analysis of stipends. Figures 1 and 2 present the data.

Figure 1

**Sources:**

House of Commons Papers.

1849: Salaries and Pensions, &c. HC601.

1858: Estimates &c. Civil Services; for the year ending 31 March 1859. HC162-1.

1863: Estimates &c. Civil Services; for the year ending 31 March 1864. HC55-1.

1868: Estimates for Civil Services; for the year ending 31 March 1869: HC98.

1873: Estimates for Civil Services; for the year ending 31 March 1874: HC74.

1878: Estimates for Civil Services and Revenue Departments: for the year ending 31 March 1879: HC62.

1883: Estimates for Civil Services and Revenue Departments: for the year ending 31 March 1884: HC8.

1888: Estimates for Civil Services for the year ending 31 March 1889. HC72.

1893: Estimates for Civil Services for the year ending 31 March 1894: HC59.

1898: Estimates for Civil Services for the year ending 31 March 1899: HC57.

1899: Estimates for Civil Services for the year ending 31 March 1900: HC69.

Notes:

1849 source refers to salaries in 1848.

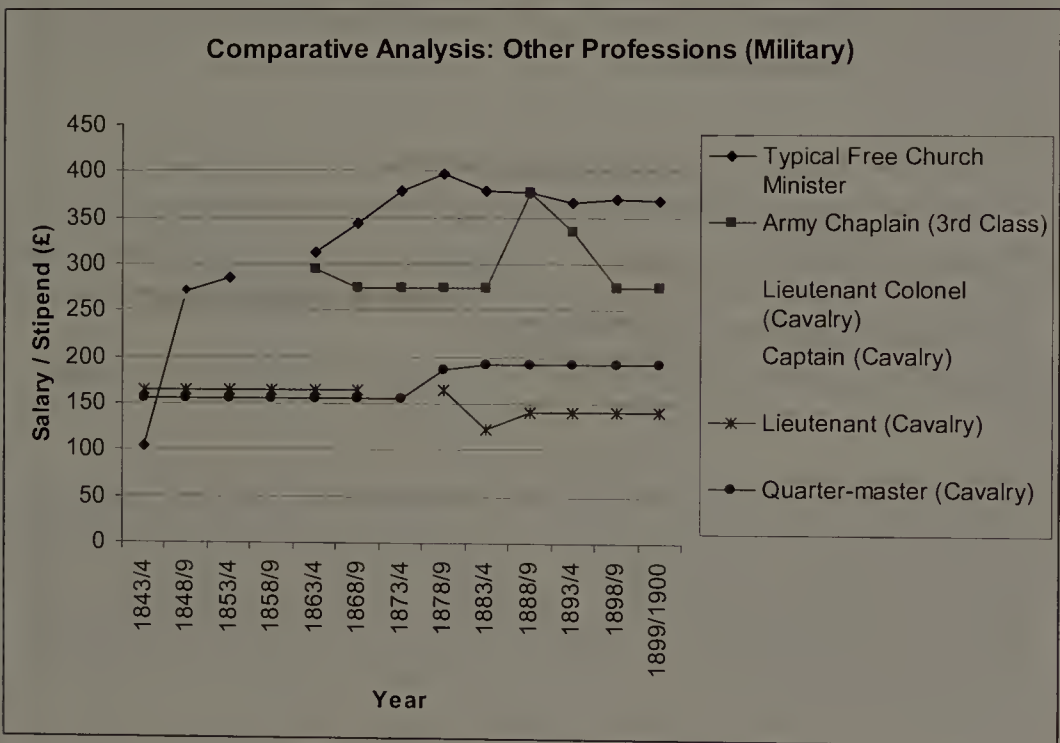
1848 salary of Lords of Session was £3,000.

For year up to the mid 1890s, in addition to their salaries the Lord Advocate and Solicitor-General received fees from Public Departments when specially employed in giving opinions or in conducting legal proceedings before the Civil Courts. Latterly the salaries covered all business of whatever sort done by them by virtue of their office.

Procurator Fiscal (Edinburgh) was divided in two (Edinburgh and County of the City of Edinburgh). Data series follows Edinburgh (City).

Principal Clerk of Teinds (from 1883/4 Interim Clerk of Teinds).

Figure 2



Sources:

House of Commons Papers.

1843: Army Estimates. Estimates of Effective and Non-Effective Army Services from 1st April 1843 to 31st March 1844. HC15.

1848: Army Estimates. Estimates of Effective and Non-Effective Army Services from 1st April 1848 to 31st March 1849. HC60.

1853: Army Estimates. Estimates of Effective and Non-Effective Army Services from 1st April 1853 to 31st March 1854. HC137.

1858: Army Estimates of Effective and Non-Effective Services for 1858-59. HC66.

1863: Army Estimates of Effective and Non-Effective Services for 1863-64. HC40.

1868: Army Estimates of Effective and Non-Effective Services for 1868-69. HC47.
 1873: Army Estimates of Effective and Non-Effective Services for 1873-74. HC35.
 1878: Army Estimates of Effective and Non-Effective Services for 1878-79. HC12.
 1883: Army Estimates of Effective and Non-Effective Services for 1883-84. HC23.
 1888: Army Estimates of Effective and Non-Effective Services for 1888-89. HC62.
 1893: Army Estimates of Effective and Non-Effective Services for 1893-94. HC88.
 1898: Army Estimates of Effective and Non-Effective Services for 1898-99. HC60.
 1899: Army Estimates of Effective and Non-Effective Services for 1899-1900. HC63.

Notes:

Salary data excludes allowances paid in all cases. Note that chaplains' pay varied according to experience. In earlier years ministers officiating received payments according to services undertaken. Later, commissioned army Chaplains were classified 1st, 2nd, 3rd and 4th class.

Figure records:

For 1863/4 to 1883/4 basic pay for 3rd class chaplains.

For 1888/9 onwards record pay for chaplain appointed to North Britain (Scotland).

Chaplains are those commissioned or attached permanently. Note allowances are excluded and only pay is listed. Chaplains' allowances in 1899/1900 included modest sums for servants, lodging, fuel and light.

Cavalry of the Line: The 2nd Dragoons (Royal Scots Greys) was the senior Scottish Cavalry of the Line regiment.

Throughout the period of study the typical Free Church minister's stipend was clearly considerably less generous than that enjoyed by the holders of high public office in the legal profession (Figure 1). In general terms his economic status was on a par with well educated, but middle ranking clerks of the Court of Session. Comparison with officers serving in the military (Figure 2) suggests that typical stipends were at a level similar to that enjoyed by middle ranking army chaplains, and by the end of the century slightly below the salary of a Lieutenant Colonel in the senior Scottish cavalry regiment.

6. Conclusion

The present study breaks new ground by drawing on a wide range of published data sources to examine changes in the stipends enjoyed by ministers of the Free Church of Scotland in the Presbytery of Edinburgh

from the 1843 Disruption to the Church's 1900 union with the United Presbyterian Church. Not least of the paper's findings is that data resources of sufficient quality and depth exist to extend the analysis geographically to all parts of Scotland, ecclesiastically to other denominations and temporally to other periods of time.

A number of technical questions require further attention. Important amongst these is the need to introduce controls for the effect of tenure on overall stipend levels. In this study no attempt is made to model the effect of tenure on stipend, however it is clearly the case that if tenure is linked causally to stipend then increases in average stipend may in fact reflect an increase in average tenure for a ministerial cohort whilst average stipends for any given tenure were decreasing. Equally whilst we have assumed as a first approximation, constant technology of production and level of training, these undoubtedly changed as society's expectations of the role and function of ministers changed through the late nineteenth century.

Notwithstanding this the paper offers important preliminary empirical evidence supporting the view that by the time of the 1900 Union, the economic status proxied by the stipend level of a Free Church minister in the Edinburgh Presbytery, had risen from rather humble beginnings to lie somewhere between that of the burgh and non-burgh ministers of the Established Church, on a par with middle ranking legal clerks working in the country's highest courts of law, and just below that of a senior officer in Scotland's senior cavalry regiment.

Table 1:
Church Charges (Congregations), Ministers and the Sustentation Fund

Year	Number of Church Charges (congregations) in Presbytery*	Number of Ministers Serving church congregations in Presbytery	Total of Contributions to Sustentation Fund in Presbytery (all congregations)* £	Average contribution to Sustentation Fund (per congregation)** £	Equal Dividend £
1843/4	-	-	-	-	105
1848/9	36	36	13,051	363	123
1853/4	39	39	13,546	347	119
1858/9	40	43	-	-	138
1863/4	44	51	15,499	352	138
1868/9	48	55	17,547	366	150
1873/4	48	55	19,309	402	150
1878/9	53	58	22,749	429	160
1883/4	54	62	22,445	416	160
1888/9	54	62	21,455	397	160
1893/4	56	62	21,459	383	160
1898/9	55	68	22,328	406	160
1899/1900	55	69	22,611	411	160

Sources:

Financial Report of the Sustentation Fund Committee (with Appendix) (various years).

Free Church of Scotland (various) *Statement showing the ordinary collections and seat-rents, ministers' supplements, etc of the congregations of the Free Church of Scotland*. Publ: Edinburgh.(annual publication)

1858/9 Public Accounts of the Free Church of Scotland.

Notes:

Data relate to the Presbytery of Edinburgh of the Free Church of Scotland.

Year convention: 1853/4 relates to year March 1853 – March 1854

* excluding preaching stations

** divide total by number of church congregations.

- data missing

Table 2:
Surplus Fund

Year	Surplus Fund Higher Share of Surplus £	Number of congregations contributing at rate of 10s and upwards per member ¹	Number of congregations contributing at rate of 7s 6d and under 10s per member ²	Number of congregations contributing at rate of under 7s 6d per member ³	Total Number of congregations in Presbytery
1868/9	10	28	8	12	48
1873/4	32	34	5	9	48
1878/9	30	37	8	8	53
1883/4	17	37	7	10	54
1888/9	13	37	10	7	54
1893/4	4 10s	32	12	12	56

Sources:

Acts of the General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland (annual)

Free Church of Scotland (various) *Report of General Sustentation Fund, Surplus Fund*, Publ: Edinburgh. (annual publication).

Notes:

Year convention: 1873/4 relates to year May 1873 – May 1874 etc.

Surplus Fund ran from 1867 onwards. The rules for its distribution changed radically in 1895.

¹ Ministers of these congregations received the higher share of surplus.

² Ministers of these congregations received half the higher share of surplus.

³ Ministers of these congregations did not receive any share of surplus.

Table 3: Congregational Supplements

Year	Ministers' Supplements (Total) £	Number of Ministers Receiving Supplements	Ministers' Supplements (Mean) ¹ £	Number of congregations paying Supplement and less than minimum stipend to Sustentation Fund	Highest Supplement (individual minister) £	Church Paying Highest Supplement	Minister Receiving Highest Supplement
1843/4							
1848/9	4,405	30	147	11	357	High	R. Gordon
1853/4	5,675	34	167	9	380	New North	C.J. Brown
1858/9	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1863/4	8,061	46	175	11	310	High	Wm Arnott
1868/9	9,190	50	184	11	500	Barclay High	J. H. Wilson Wm Arnott
1873/4	10,734	53	203	8	550	St George's	Alex. Whyte
1878/9	12,603	57	221	15	1,036	St George's	Alex. Whyte
1883/4	12,818	60	214	14	981	St George's	Alex. Whyte
1888/9	13,357	62	215	17	964	St George's	Alex. Whyte
1893/4	12,734	59	216	15	1,021	St George's	Alex. Whyte
1898/9	14,188	66	215	15	607	St George's	Alex. Whyte
1899/1900	14,564	68	214	15	632	St George's	Alex. Whyte

Sources:

Free Church of Scotland (various) *Statement showing the ordinary collections and seat-rents, ministers' supplements, etc of the congregations of the Free Church of Scotland*. Publ: Edinburgh.(annual publication)

1898/9 and 1899/1900 General Sustentation Fund, Statement of Contributions Received from the Congregations of the Free Church of Scotland for the years ending 15 May 1899 and 15 May 1900.

Notes:

¹ Total supplements divided by number of ministers in receipt of supplements.

Table 4: Typical Minister Stipend

Year	Equal Dividend £	Average Supplement £	Higher Share of Surplus £	Total £
1843/4	105	-	-	105
1848/9	123	147	-	270
1853/4	119	167	-	286
1858/9	138	-	-	-
1863/4	138	175	-	313
1868/9	150	184	10	344
1873/4	150	196	32	378
1878/9	160	207	30	397
1883/4	160	201	17	378
1888/9	160	203	13	376
1893/4	160	202	4 10s	366 10s
1898/9	160	209	-	369
1899/1900	160	208	-	368

Notes:

Assumes typical minister on equal dividend platform, in receipt of higher share of surplus and average supplement for congregations paying a supplement. Additional supplements, occasionally awarded to ministers of poorer charges, are omitted. Average Supplement from 1873/4 onwards calculated excluding observation relating to Alexander Whyte of Free St George's.

Table 5: Highest Paid Minister Stipend

Year	Equal Dividend £	Actual Supplement £	Higher Share of Surplus £	Total £
1843/4	105	-	-	105
1848/9	123	357	-	480
1853/4	119	380	-	499
1858/9	138	-	-	-
1863/4	138	310	-	448
1868/9	150	500	10	660
1873/4	150	550	32	732
1878/9	160	1,036	30	1,226
1883/4	160	981	17	1,158
1888/9	160	964	13	1,137
1893/4	160	1,021	4 10s	1,185 10s
1898/9	160	607	-	767
1899/1900	160	632	-	792

Table 6: Ministerial Stipend Value: Nominal and at 2010 Prices

Year	Price Index	Equal Dividend £		Typical Free Church Ministerial Stipend £		Highest Paid Free Church Ministerial Stipend £	
		Money of the day	Purchasing Power 2010	Money of the day	Purchasing Power 2010	Money of the day	Purchasing Power 2010
1843/4	8.9	105	10,400	105	10,400	105	10,400
1848/9	9.5	123	11,400	270	25,100	480	44,600
1853/4	8.9	119	11,800	286	28,300	499	49,400
1858/9	9.1	138	13,400	-	-	-	-
1863/4	9.0	138	13,500	313	30,700	448	43,900
1868/9	10.0	150	13,200	344	30,300	660	58,200
1873/4	10.4	150	12,700	378	32,100	732	62,100
1878/9	9.5	160	14,900	397	36,900	1,226	113,800
1883/4	9.3	160	15,200	378	35,800	1,158	109,800
1888/9	8.7	160	16,200	376	38,100	1,137	115,300
1893/4	8.8	160	16,000	366 10s	36,700	1,185 10s	118,800
1898/9	8.7	160	16,200	369	37,400	767	77,700
1899/1900	8.8	160	16,000	368	36,900	792	79,400

Source:

ONS (2011) Table 5.3 Composite Price Index: 1800 to 2010.

Notes:

Composite price index based on January 1974 = 100

Index for 2010 = 881.9

Purchasing power of a sum of money in one year compared with another is calculated as follows,

The sum of money times (later date index divided by earlier date index).

For 1843/4 use price index related to 1843 etc.

Purchasing power rounded to nearest £100.

Table 7: Stipends of Ante-Disruption Ministers

Minister	Pre-Disruption Charge in 1843	Stipend of that Charge in 1835	Charge in 1846 (Free)	Stipend in 1846	Charge in 1858 (Free)	Stipend in 1858	Charge in 1873 (Free)	Stipend in 1873	Died
Patrick Clason	Buccleuch	300	Buccleuch	253	Buccleuch	Retired	-	-	1867
William Cunningham	Trinity College	548	New College	400	New College	450	-	-	1861
George Muirhead	Cramond	271	-	-	-	-	-	-	1847
James Manson	Dean	*	Dean	152	Duns				1890
James Noble	Gaelic	280	Gaelic	233	Poolewe	165	-	-	1864
Walter Fairlie	Gilmerton	*	Gilmerton	122	-	-	-	-	1856
John Sym	Greyfriars	548	Old Greyfriars	322	-	-	-	-	1855
Andrew Mackenzie	Henderson	*	Penicuik	162	Penicuik		-	-	1871
James Buchanan	High Church	548	New College	400	New College	400	-	-	1870
Robert Gordon	High Church	548	High	447	-	-	-	-	1853
George Ramsay Davidson	Lady Glenorchy's	400	Lady Glenorchy's	272	Lady Glenorchy's	298	Lady Glenorchy's	392	1890
William Simpson	Leith Wynd	80	Leith Wynd	122	-	-	-	-	1858

Minister	Pre-Disruption Charge in 1843	Stipend of that Charge in 1835	Charge in 1846 (Free)	Stipend in 1846	Charge in 1858 (Free)	Stipend in 1858	Charge in 1873 (Free)	Stipend in 1873	Died
James Begg	Liberton	327	Liberton	422	Newington	438	Newington	482	1883
John Thomson	Mariners' Leith	*	Mariners' Leith	138	Mariner's Leith	172	St Ninian's	232	1881
Thomas Addis	Morningside	*	Morningside	202	Morningside	188	Morningside	302	1899
Charles John Brown	New North	548	New North	385	New North	480	New North	182 + share of 625	1884
William Nisbet	New Street	150	New Street	188	Canongate	197	-	-	1869
James Fairbairn	Newhaven	*	Newhaven	122	Newhaven	173	Newhaven	282	1879
James Julius Wood	Old Greyfriars	548			Dumfries	238			1877
John Glen	Portobello	180	Portobello	122	-	-	-	-	1854
David Welsh	University of Edinburgh	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1845
Thomas Chalmers	University of Edinburgh	-	Free Church College	450	-	-	-	-	1847
Alexander Gregory	Roxburgh	200	Roxburgh	162	Anstruther	203			1888
David Thorburn	South Leith	247	South Leith	292	South Leith	238	South Leith	282	1893

Minister	Pre-Disruption Charge in 1843	Stipend of that Charge in 1835	Charge in 1846 (Free)	Stipend in 1846	Charge in 1858 (Free)	Stipend in 1858	Charge in 1873 (Free)	Stipend in 1873	Died
John Bruce	St Andrew's	548	St Andrew's	422	St Andrews	438	St Andrew's	182 + share of 375	1880
Alexander Watson Brown	St Bernard's	450	St Bernard's	365	St Bernard's	358	Left Free Church	-	1895
Robert Ferguson	St David's	*	St David's	260	St David's	208	-	-	1866
Robert Smith Candlish	St George's	548	St George's	522	St George's	538	-	-	1873
Thomas Guthrie	St John's	250	St John's	465	St John's	460*	-	-	1873
James Lewis	St John's Leith	*	St John's Leith	222	St John's Leith	266	-	-	1872
Alexander Moody Stuart	St Luke's	*			St Luke's	388	St Luke's	482	1898
Henry Grey	St Mary's	548	St Mary's	372	-		-	-	1859
Robert Elder	St Paul's	*	St Paul's	122	Rothsay	300			1892
William King Tweedie	Tolbooth	548	Tolbooth	422	Tolbooth	488	-	-	1863

Sources:

- A.I. Dunlop, *The Kirks of Edinburgh* (Edinburgh, 1988).
Royal Commissioners Ninth Report (1838), Appendix II.
 G.S. Tullis, A. Lees & J. Gibson, *Plea for the Country Ministers Who Resigned their Livings in 1843* (Cupar, 1847).
 Public Accounts of the Free Church of Scotland 31 March 1846 – 31 March 1847.
 Statement shewing the Ordinary Collections and Seat-Rents, Ministers' Supplements, &c from the Congregations of the Free Church of Scotland for the Year from March 31 1873, to March 31, 1874.
 T. Brown, *Annals of the Disruption* (new edn Edinburgh, 1893), Appendix I.
 Free Church of Scotland (1859) *Report of Special Committee Appointed by Assembly 1858 to take into consideration overtures relative to claims of ante-disruption ministers, &c.* Publ: Thos Constable, Edinburgh.

Notes:

1873 stipend calculated as: equal divi (£150) + higher share of surplus (£32) + ministerial supplement. This will overstate stipend for charges which were not entitled to higher share of surplus.

In some cases ministerial supplement was shared between two ministers serving one congregation.

Table 8:
Comparative Analysis: Other Free Church Employees Annual Salary

Year	Typical Free Church Ministerial Stipend £	General Treasurer ¹ £	New College Professor £	New College Principal ³ £
1843/4	105	-	-	-
1848/9	270	400	400	450
1853/4	286	400	400	450
1858/9	-	400	400	450
1863/4	313	400	400	400
1868/9	344	500	400	400
1873/4	378	500	450	450
1878/9	397	600	550	605
1883/4	378	600	499	553
1888/9	376	500 ²	628	688
1893/4	366 10s	600	674	761
1898/9	369	750	598	670
1899/1900	368	750	633	705

Source:

Free Church of Scotland (various) *Report on the Public Accounts of the Free Church of Scotland*, Publ: Edinburgh (annual).

Notes:

¹ Salary excludes guaranteed security (of approx. £20 p.a.).

² Salary of £500 paid to the Treasurer Emeritus and another £500 to the Joint Treasurer

³ Principal or highest paid professor

Table 9: Comparative Analysis: Established Church of Scotland

Year	Equal Dividend £	Typical Free Church Ministerial Stipend £	Highest Paid Free Church Ministerial Stipend £	Church of Scotland Typical Burgh Church Ministerial Stipend £	Church of Scotland Highest Burgh Church Ministerial Stipend £	Church of Scotland Typical Non-burgh Ministerial Stipend £
1843/4	105	105	105	496 (1844)	496 (1844)	242 (1835)
1848/9	123	270	480	632 (1849)	632 (1849)	-
1853/4	119	286	499	597 (1854)	597 (1854)	-
1858/9	138	-	-	596 (1859)	596 (1859)	-
1863/4	138	313	448	600 (1865)	600 (1865)	-
1868/9	150	344	660	-	-	-
1873/4	150	378	732	600 (1873)	600 (1873)	289 (1873)
1878/9	160	397	1,226	-	-	-
1883/4	160	378	1,158	593 (1884/6)	793 (1884/6)	265 (1884/6)
1888/9	160	376	1,137	593 (1889)	600 (1889)	281 (1889)
1893/4	160	366 10s	1,185 10s	593 (1894)	600 (1894)	290 (1894)
1898/9	160	369	767	-	-	-
1899/1900	160	368	792	575 (1899)	593 (1899)	280 (1899)

Sources:

Church of Scotland Burgh Churches.

1844, 1849: Page 153, House of Commons (1851) *Report from the Select Committee on Annuity Tax (Edinburgh) together with the Proceedings of the Committee, Minutes of Evidence, Appendix and Index*. HC 617. Printed 31 July 1851.

1854 and 1859: Page 3, House of Commons (1860) *Annuity Tax (Edinburgh). Return of the amount of Annuity Tax collected in Edinburgh each year for the last ten years*. HC 104. Printed 28 February 1860.

1865: Page 6, House of Commons (1866) *Parish Ministers (Scotland). Return of the number of parish ministers in each of the Royal Burghs of Scotland*. HC 117, Printed 16 March 1866.

1873: Page 10, House of Commons (1874) *Ministers' Stipends (Scotland)*. HC 401. Printed 7 August 1874 and Pages 3 – 4, House of Commons (1875) *Ministers' Stipends (Scotland)*. HC 437. Printed 13 August 1875.

1884/6: pages 96 - 97. Church of Scotland (1888) *The Book of the Church of Scotland (Year-Book) 1888* [note first yearbook with Stipend data - sums received in 1886, where data is missing the 1884 Parliamentary Return on Teinds data has been used.

1889: Pages 96-97. Church of Scotland (1891) *The Book of the Church of Scotland (Year-Book) 1891*

1894: Pages 108-09. Church of Scotland (1896) *The Book of the Church of Scotland (Year-Book) 1896*

1899: Pages 122-3. Church of Scotland (1901) *The Book of the Church of Scotland (Year-Book) 1901*

Church of Scotland Non Burgh Churches (Corstorphine Parish Church)

1835: Appendix, page 10, House of Commons (1839) *Ninth Report by the Commissioners of Religious Instruction, Scotland*. [164]

1873: Pages 10 and 19, House of Commons (1874) *Ministers' Stipends (Scotland)*. HC 401. Printed 7 August 1874 and Pages 3 – 4 and 6, House of Commons (1875) *Ministers' Stipends (Scotland)*. HC 437. Printed 13 August 1875.

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1889: Pages 96-98. Church of Scotland (1891) *The Book of the Church of Scotland (Year-Book) 1891*

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1899: Pages 122-4. Church of Scotland (1901) *The Book of the Church of Scotland (Year-Book) 1901*

Notes:

Free Church

Typical Stipend a representative stipend calculated as = equal dividend + average supplement + higher share of surplus

Highest paid Free Church ministerial stipend calculated as = equal dividend + actual highest supplement + higher share of surplus

Church of Scotland

Typical Non-Burgh Ministerial Stipend – select Corstorphine Parish (which has neither the highest nor the lowest stipend throughout this period).

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